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of Professor Michels' book. Indeed, it is a book of which the importance lies in the evidence collected and the general truth of its thesis. We criticise its implied conceptions of progressive political organisation only because it is so easy for the obsolete and the obscurantists to shake men's faith in new systems because they are not perfect: and we can foresee exactly the same evidence and the same general thesis being used to support a most sinister reaction.

C. DELISLE BURNS.

London, England.

THE CROWD IN PEACE AND WAR. By Sir Martin Conway.
London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1915. Pp. 332.
Price, 6s. net.

The instability and the vagaries of the "blind multitude"—the crowd—have from time immemorial served as a mark for the satirist; *quand les hommes s'attroupent leurs oreilles s'allongent*. Sir Martin Conway, the rest of whose works on the fly leaf, ranging from art to Alpine climbing, hardly seem to promise an excursion into crowd psychology—has written an interesting rather than profound study of the crowd and its problems, and his analysis of the behaviour of the crowd, based rather on his own observations than on the researches of psychologists, is singularly fresh.

The crowd has emotions, but no intellect, and must accept or reject opinions *en bloc*. It thinks, if it thinks at all, by "infection." Instead of being Shakespeare's "many-headed beast," it is all heart. Its singularity is its corporate and tyrannical life, which is distinct from the individual life of the units composing it.

The crowd resents individualism. Its business is to change free units into crowd-cells. It resents freedom of speech in any sense opposed to its own views. So the churches (which, as Sir Martin Conway puts it, are like the House of Lords or the village cricket club, but an organised crowd) are and have been intolerant. "In no category of human crowdship is it so easy to start a new group, first as a subdivision of an older crowd, frequently as an independent body. Thus every church is always in fear of innovations; intolerance, therefore, that is to say, hatred of any

divergence from a settled religious form, is almost a necessary quality in every religious body."

Turning to those who influence crowds, Sir Martin divides them into two classes, crowd-compellers, or in a simpler phase, leaders; and crowd-exponents, or men who are the voice of the crowd. The crowd is not caught by the demagogue as much as the demagogue is caught by the crowd; the latter feels by sympathetic insight and mere sensitiveness of nature (like Mr. Lloyd George) as the crowd feels or is going to feel, "and expresses in clear language the emotion of the dumb organism."

A crowd exponent, as Bagehot wrote of Gladstone, "receives his premises from his audience like a vapour, and pours out his conclusions from them like a flood. He will imbibe from one audience different vapour of premises from that which he will receive from another." Substantially, *The Crowd in Peace and War* is an indictment against unalloyed democracy in which crowd-pressure and the influence of the crowd-exponent are disproportionately strong.

An interesting chapter of the book is that emphasising crowd-pressure; both in its most trivial example, such as the absurd regulations as to details of dress and manner at public schools and colleges, and in its most influential phase, when it is used to form public opinion. A very singular instance of how the German people are hypnotised by their government is quoted from a neutral correspondent writing to the *Times* of May 27, 1915, which is quoted at length. When the writer entered Germany, he believed himself able to take an independent view of the war, and that he was "proof against atmosphere." He frequently found, through the government's shrewd management of the press, and the cumulative effect of constant suggestion, that he gradually seemed to lose his individuality and became merged in the German mass. "It was with a sense of relief, as of the passing of a nightmare," he writes, "that I crossed the border, and found a freer atmosphere and neutral associations in Switzerland."

The author sees the possible cure of war, not in the purely negative anti-nationalism, but in a super-nationalism of the future, the formation of overcrowds that generate good-will and dissipate the instinctive hostility of peoples. This is what M. Léon Bourgeois expressed as an "interior alliance" between the Allies, a common soul "which must survive the terrible crisis in

which it became conscious of itself. Let us know how to express our will, and in a Europe in which peace has been re-established, . . . the man of to-morrow will be able freely to develop himself in the complete liberty of his opinions and beliefs, in the assured respect of his rights and in the fulfilment of his duties."

M. J.

THE DECLINE OF LIBERTY IN ENGLAND. By E. S. P. Haynes.
London: Grant Richards, Ltd., 1916. Pp. 240. Price, 6s net.

Mr. Haynes, whose work as a scholar and social reformer is well known to readers of the INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHICS, takes a strongly national view of the war, and is in internal politics a Conservative of decidedly independent views. This gives additional force to his argument, that "the only effect of the War up to now has been to strengthen the hands of Prussian-minded Britons," and that "great efforts will certainly be made after the war to preserve a number of ordinances which can only be tolerated on the ground of real or alleged necessity." The book is written in order to call attention to this peril, and also to indicate the position and evolution of freedom in the structure of the family and the relations of the sexes. It is written with immense vigor, *verve* and wit. I particularly like the nutshell summaries and exposures of the cruelty and inadequacy of the English marriage and illegitimacy laws—especially in view of the frequent lamentations over the falling birth-rate. The revolutionary importance of birth-control is given due weight and there is an interesting reference to the Sanger case. Christian dogma is shown to be largely responsible for the monstrous treatment of prostitutes, by a society which will neither dispense with their services, nor give them legal security or moral recognition. The essay on "Liberty in Regard to Women" is very sane and fair; and there is a short but temperate and impressive plea for a rational and humane treatment of sexual abnormality. The strong subconscious influence of jealousy is emphasized in the treatment of sexual offenders; this is an excellent point, for it is impossible to forget that sexual scandals have been often used to engineer and confirm the downfall of men who were obnoxious to the English ruling class. The political chapters seem to me less happy: I cannot see how personal liberty and justice between man and man can be permanently secured without popular con-